# THE DAILY PROGRESS.

VOL. V. RALEIGH, FRIDAY, OCT. 7, 1864. NO. 181.



BY [illegible]

The following are the terms of subscription to The Progress:

Daily paper, 1 month ..... $ 5 00
" 3 months ..... 10 00
" 6 months ..... 20 00
" 12 months ..... 40 00
Weekly paper, 3 months ..... 4 00
" 6 months ..... 8 00
" 12 months ..... 16 00

Always to be paid for in advance. Paper stopped when the time paid for expires.

[illegible] 704 and 706 [illegible]


## DAILY PROGRESS.

FRIDAY, OCT. 7, 1864.

### SCHEDULE OF MAIL ARRANGEMENTS.

Eastern closes daily at ..... 7 A M
Northern, via [illegible] daily at ..... 7 A M
" " NORTH " at ..... 11 A M
Western, " " " at ..... 11 A M
Augusta, " " " at ..... 11 A M
Fayetteville, " " " at ..... 9 A M
Eagle Rock, Mondays, Tuesdays & Saturdays, at ..... 12 M
Carthage, Wednesdays, " ..... 11 A M
Summerville, Wednesdays at ..... 5 P M
Leesburg, " " ..... 12 M
Rexboro', " " ..... 12 M
Eastern closes daily at ..... 9 A M
Northern, via RICHMOND, " ..... 9 P M
Western, " " " ..... 9 P M
Augusta, " " " ..... 9 P M
Fayetteville, " " " ..... 12 1/2 P M
Eagle Rock, Mondays, Thursdays & Saturdays, at ..... 1 P M
Carthage, Wednesdays, " ..... 9 A M
Summerville, Thursdays " ..... 9 A M
Leesburg, Wednesdays " ..... 1 P M
Rexboro', via Hogan's Store Wednesdays at ..... 1 P M

Office open from 7 A M to 8:30 A. M., and from 11 A. M to 6 P M, during the week.

On Sunday from 7 A M. to 9 A M, and from 1 P M to 3 P. M.

Persons are required to transact their business during office hours.

### MR. BOYCE TO MR. DAVIS.

Winnsboro', S. C., Sept. 20, 1864.

*My Excellency, Jefferson Davis:*

Sir: The Constitution of the United States, in their recent Convention at Chicago, resolved that "they claimed power they would not yield to coercion and a Convention of all the States, to consider the subject of peace. I think their action deserves a favorable response from our Government. I do not deny that parties who can make that response, because our Congress does not meet until after the time appointed for the Presidential election. If old Confederates think I should propose the action I desire taken to that body, and submit to its judgment my arguments, just as that opportunity does not occur, I have no alternative but to remain silent, or address myself to you. I cannot consistently, with my ideas of duty, remain silent. I therefore address myself to you. We are waging war to obtain a satisfactory peace. By a satisfactory peace, I mean a peace consistent with the preservation of our free institutions. By a satisfactory peace, I do not mean that cessation of hostilities which might, after a protracted contest, result from the exhaustion of the belligerents, whereby the sword would fall from their nerveless hands, their hearts a prey to the furies. Such a peace as that would be but a hollow truce, in which each party would be fortunately preparing for a new, final and decisive struggle. The peace which I mean is a peace which reconciles the interests and the feelings of the belligerents; a peace, in short, which restores harmony. Unless we can obtain such a peace as this, our republican institutions totter to their fall, and we become the subjects of a military despotism. Every government must exist; that is the law of being. If it is attacked by great force it must bring a proportionately great force to its defence. If its form is such as not to furnish sufficient strength at the full extent of its means, it must disregard that form. The Republican form, especially the form of a Confederacy of free States, is not the best adapted for war. In fact it is a peace establishment. The form best adapted for war is a perfect military despotism. The Republic at war is generally passing into military despotism. As the war continues and the pressure of its enemy increases, the transition is accelerated. A Republic forced to the wall by a powerful enemy must call in despotism. If we turn our eyes to Europe we find only two nations with free institutions, Great Britain and Switzerland. Why is this? The reason is obvious. The necessity of being constantly in the highest state of preparation for war, compels every country to the utmost development of its military strength. Absolute Government is a part of that state of preparation, and therefore absolute government in the ordinary condition. If there were no other obstacle to France becoming a republic, the immense standing armies she is compelled to keep constantly under arms would be conclusive. France is compelled to keep 600,000 men always in arms. France is obliged therefore to be what she is, a military despotism.

Take the case of Prussia in the celebrated seven years war. Suppose her institutions had been liberal, what would have been the result? Frederick the Great would either have had to abandon the struggle, or submit all power, military and civil, to the hands of Frederick enabling him to come forth victorious from the contest. He sacrificed everything else to Prussia to the one end of military strength. As Prussia has no natural defence and so greatly inferior in strength to the other great powers, it was necessary to give exclusive development to the military bias; this Frederick did. As Mommsly said, he made Prussia "all sting." This was logical in Frederick. To save Prussia it was necessary to give her the maximum of military strength—he did this. Prussia still has a place on the map, but he made no effort to save liberty. Frederick found Prussia an absolute monarchy, he left it an unbounded one. Liberty was never thought of. It is impossible in her condition. If Prussia with her excellent population were at a vast distance from where she is, and protected by oceans and mountains, she might be a republic, but where she is, it is impossible. On the continent of Europe no State can exist with free institutions, because the form of government must be such as furnishes the greatest amount of military strength. Perhaps it may be said that Switzerland contradicts my theory. I reply that Switzerland is an exceptional case. A few petty people hardly worth conquering, surrounded by Despotic monarchies, they are not worth conquering. Besides the mutual jealousy of the great powers is their real safeguard. Napoleon is the only great and free power in Europe. This is owing to her insular position. The coast is the darling charter of her freedom. If nothing but a surveyor's line separated England from Prussia, England would be a military despotism as France is.—No country can be free which has to sleep with her hand on her sword.

But why resort to general reasoning and the condition of European nations to prove what I have asserted, when the proof stares us in the face in the example of our own country. We see it in every right; we feel it in every emotion, we hear it in every sound. When our present Government was established, everything possible was done in the interest of State Rights, every conceivable guarantee was taken for individual freedom—as little as possible was delegated to the Federal Government. The Federal Government was "cabined, cribbed, confined," "hedged in by many doubts and fears." The school of extreme State Rights were at work forming a constitution for a Federal Government, with the accumulated experience of seventy years. They did their work well. The problem to be solved was the framing of a Federal Government, with the minimum of power to function. I thought at the time it was needless labor, because I conceived, in the humility of my judgment, that the Constitution of a country was that which its necessities pointed out, and that your sword cut to advance any chart would be the determination of a Confederacy destined to perpetual war with a neighboring power of superior force. But the framers of our Constitution were not deterred by any such considerations as these from their work. They established their Confederacy, guarded and restricted in the interest of the rights of the separate States as much as possible. Well, we have been at war not quite four years, and what is the result? Is not our Federal Government in the exercise of many powers of a national central military despotism? Suppose there were no States, only provinces, and unlimited power was conferred upon you and Congress, what greater powers would you exercise than you now do? Have we not carried conscription to its last limits? Is not every man in the country between 17 and 50 subject to military authority? None are exempt except upon considerations of public interest. Have we not been compelled to lay direct taxes in the very teeth of the theory of the Constitution? Have we not issued such vast amounts of paper money as to unsettle all values? Have we not compelled the holders of our paper money to fund it, or lose one third. Have we not seized all the railroads? Have we not destroyed railroads and built others. Have we not established a universal system of impressment of property at our own prices, in our own money? Have we not established a Government monopoly of the exportations of the great staples of the country? Have we not forbidden the importatio of luxuries?—


**How to Send us Money.**—Never send by mail when you can send by Express. All money sent by Express at our expense. Those sending us money by mail must do so at their own risk.


Have we not suspended the writ of habeas corpus in a large number of cases? Have we not created new offences and imposed new penalties? Have we not established military tribunals, which, in many cases, punish without jury? Have we not established military prisons in which to incarcerate those who are charged with offences? Have we not established military commissions

DAILY PROGRESS.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]